WILL THE SOUTH DISSOLVE THE UNION?

BY GEORGE M. WESTON.

The Union of the American States was formed, and has thus far subsisted, by the free and voluntary association of the sovereign States of which it is composed. Alienations of feeling, local and individual, have existed at all times, and have sometimes assumed proportions and exhibited symptoms, which have excited serious apprehensions. But all these alienations have hitherto passed successively and harmlessly away, and at no time, during the eighty years of our independent national existence, has any single State desired to withdraw from a Confederacy, of which the advantage to all its members is so obvious and so signal.

During the present generation, the most studied and persevering efforts have been made to establish political theories, and excite feelings, hostile to the continuance of the Union, among the people of the slave States. These efforts, which a public opinion, perhaps unjust, but certainly irreversible, has attributed to the disappointed ambition of Mr. Calhoun, were directed first to the inculcation of the belief that the planting States, under our established system of custom-house taxation, contributed a great and onerous disproportion towards the public burdens, and, subsequently, to the fomenting of angry and heated passions connected with the subject of Slavery. It is not to be denied that these efforts, in which many men of extraordinary ability have enlisted, and which have been persevered in during a quarter of a century, have been, to a certain extent, successful. Their effects, most marked among the friends of Mr. Calhoun, and in the State of which he was so long the pride and favorite and political guide, are painfully visible everywhere throughout the South. But as yet, in every Southern State, the friends of the Union have at all times outnumbered the agitators of disunion; and they do so at this day, whatever appearances there may be to the contrary.

In the case of Texas, principally inhabited and wholly controlled by those who had been citizens of the Southern States, long and patiently, and at length successfully, pressing for admission *into* the Union, we have a decisive and most significant proof, that those who are urging the slave States to go *out* of the Union, have not yet accomplished their work. Notwithstanding the efforts of agitators, the majority of the people of those States do undoubtedly still perceive, as the people of Texas did, that they find in the strength and power of the Union the best guarantee of protection, and even of existence.

If the discussion in the free States of Slavery, and of propositions for its abolition, is offensive and dangerous to the South, it is abundantly certain that such discussion would lose none of its freedom and none of its acrimony by a dissolution of the Union. The restraints now resulting from the comity due to sister States, would then cease to exist. The South, no longer having political influence in the free States, would lose the whole body of mercenary supporters, whom it recruits and maintains in them by means of that influence. It requires no great knowledge of the springs of human action, to perceive that the same Northern demagogues, who now find it profitable to cater to Slavery, would then vie with each other in inflaming passions hostile to it. Men who betray the rights and interests of their own section of the country, in order to earn a shameful title to bribes held out by another, are little likely to be restrained by scruples from entering upon any course which promises personal advantage. Thus the South, by dissolving the Union, would lose at the North all the supports, good and bad, which it now enjoys there.

If the South complains, or has reason to complain, of the imperfect and obstructed discharge by the free States of their constitutional duty to return fugitive slaves, it is quite certain that a remedy for the evil is not to be sought in a dissolution of the Union, which would at once render the recapture of fugitive slaves wholly impossible, and at no long interval destroy the institution of Slavery in the border slave States. Wise men will endure what is unavoidable with patience, and at least will not rush into remedies which are worse than the disease. Undoubtedly, the condition of public sentiment in the free States renders the pursuit, within their limits, of

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fugitives from bondage, a thankless and profitless operation. No stringency of law is likely to make it otherwise. The instincts of human nature, which prompt succor to those who are fleeing from oppression, cannot be eradicated by legislation. The obstacles which are now interposed to the recapture of fugitives from involuntary service must, in fine, be submitted to as inevitable. The right itself of recapture falls with the Union; and this right, however obstructed in its enforcement, is still worth something in preventing escapes.

The position of the South is critical. Its fate is bound up in that of an institution which is condemned by the general judgment of civilized nations, and for the overthrow of which are combined the conscience, the prejudices, the fanaticism, and the interests, of mankind. Thus concentrating upon themselves the hostility, or, if that word is thought better, the malignity, of the world; the Southern States have absolutely no power of aggression, and scarcely any of defence, and, if the protecting shield of the Union was withdrawn, would fall an easy prey to exasperated and accumulated enemies. This is the real condition of the South, and it is truly pitiable and helpless to the last degree. The bravado by which it is attempted to be masked, the threats of dissolving the Union, made by men who hold their property, and even their lives, as they well know, only under the shelter of the Union; which shall we most admire, the calculating arrogance which prompts them, or the amazing simplicity which is deceived by them?

Mr. Calhoun, in his letter of August 12, 1844, to our then Minister to France, states the motives of interest pressing upon England, to induce her to desire the overthrow of Negro Slavery in the United States. Let us see what those motives are, and let us see, also, if they are not certain to control other Powers as well as Great Britain.

Mr. Calhoun says:

"One of the leading motives of England for desiring it, [the defeat of the annexation of Texas to the United States,] is the hope that, through her diplomacy and influence, Negro Slavery may be abolished there and ultimately, by consequence, in the United States, and throughout the whole of this continent. That its ultimate abolition throughout the entire continent is an object ardently desired by her, we have decisive proof in the declaration of the Earl of Aberdeen, delivered to this Department."

Mr. Calhoun proceeds to point out, for what reasons, in his judgment, England desired to abolish Slavery on this continent; and he begins by denying that it can be attributed to "*humanity or philanthropy.*" "*I do not question,*" he says, "*but humanity may have been one of her leading motives for the abolition of the African slave trade, and that it may have had considerable influence in abolishing Slavery in her West India possessions;*" but her present movements he ascribes to quite different considerations. According to Mr. Calhoun, England has been disappointed in the experiment of free labor in her Colonies. He says:

"Experience has convinced her of the fallacy of her calculations. She has failed in all her objects. The labor of her negroes has proved far less productive, without affording the consolation of having improved their condition. * * * Her tropical products have fallen off to a vast amount. * * * So disastrous has been the result, that her fixed capital, vested in tropical possessions, estimated at the value of nearly five hundred millions of dollars, is said to stand on the brink of ruin. But this is not the worst. While this costly scheme has had such ruinous effects on the tropical productions of Great Britain, it has given a powerful stimulus, followed by a corresponding increase of products, to those countries which have had the good sense to shun her example. There has been vested, it is estimated by them, in the production of tropical products, since 1808, in fixed capital, nearly $3,000,000,000, wholly dependent on slave labor. In the same period, the value of their products has been estimated to have risen from about $72,000,000 annually, to nearly $220,000,000; while the whole of the fixed capital of Great Britain, vested in cultivating tropical products, both in the East and West Indies, is estimated at only about $830,000,000, and the value of the products annually at about $50,000,000. To present a still more striking view of the three articles of tropical products, (sugar, coffee, and cotton,) the British possessions, including the West and East Indies, and Mauritius, produced in 1842, of sugar, only 3,993,771 pounds, while Cuba, Brazil, and the United States, excluding other countries having tropical possessions, produced 9,000,000 pounds; of coffee, the British possessions produced only 27,393,003, while Cuba and Brazil produced 201,590,125 pounds; and of cotton, the British possessions, including shipments to China, only 147,443,146 pounds, while the United States alone produced 790,479,275 pounds. * * * This is seen and felt by British statesmen, and has opened their eyes to the errors which they have committed. The question now with them is, How shall it be counteracted? * * * In order to regain her superiority, she not only seeks to revive and increase her own capacity to produce tropical productions, but to diminish and destroy the capacity of those who have so far outstripped her, in consequence of her error * * * Her main reliance is to cripple or destroy the productions of her successful rivals. There is but one way by which it can be done and that is, abolishing African Slavery throughout this continent; and that she openly avows to be the constant object of her policy and exertions. It matters not how, or from what motive, it may be done; whether it may be by diplomacy, influence, or force; by secret or open means; and whether the motive be humane or selfish. Without regard to manner, means, or motive, the thing itself, should it be accomplished, would put down all rivalry, and give her the undisputed supremacy in supplying her own wants, and those of the rest of the world. * * * The end [of abolishing Slavery in Cuba, Brazil, and the United States] would be, that the superiority in cultivating the great tropical staples would be transferred from them to the British tropical possessions.

"They are of vast extent, and those beyond the Cape of Good Hope possessed of an unlimited amount of labor. * * * It is the successful competition of slave labor which keeps the prices of the great tropical staples so low as to prevent their cultivation with profit in the possessions of Great Britain, by what she is pleased to call free labor."

Mr. Calhoun may err in supposing that England regrets the abolition of Slavery in her West Indian Colonies. He may err in imputing her desire to see Slavery abolished elsewhere, wholly to motives of policy, unmixed with motives of humanity. But there can be no doubt, either of the matter of fact that England does wish to see Slavery abolished everywhere, or of the importance of its universal abolition to the prosperity of interests with which her industrial prosperity is conspicuously identified. At all events, and beyond all peradventure, whether from philanthropy, or selfishness, or a mixture of both, Great Britain, the first maritime Power in the world, and having island possessions in threatening propinquity to the Southern States, is decisively committed, and by enduring motives, to the Anti-Slavery cause. The gentlemen of the slave States understand it well, and, for years they have sounded an alarm, neither affected nor groundless, that England wishes to "*Africanize*" Cuba, and surround the South with "*a cordon of free negro communities.*" It was to defeat this scheme

that, under Col. Polk's Administration, they offered one hundred millions of dollars for the purchase of Cuba, and more recently instigated conferences at Ostend, at which the same purchase was attempted at a much higher price. We will consider by and by, in the progress of this discussion, whose money it was which has been offered with such a princely and uncalculating munificence. For the present, I refer to it only as proof of the intensity of slaveholding apprehensions, and of the magnitude of the dangers which threaten Slavery. The most formidable Power on the Globe, with every inviting opportunity of position, is the known, avowed, and sworn enemy of the institution with which every Southern interest is indissolubly bound up, and is so also from motives and considerations which make its hostility fixed, unappeasable, and eternal.

All the orators and all the writers of the South adopt the views of Mr. Calhoun in reference to English policy. To quote them all, is equally impracticable and unnecessary, and I only refer now to a speech delivered in Congress, April 29, 1856, by Gen. Quitman, a Representative of Mississippi, and the owner of three hundred slaves, as the latest and most elaborate expression of these views. After remarking generally upon "*the peculiar condition of many neighboring States and Colonies, and the influence which their condition must exercise upon our own prosperity,*" Gen. Quitman proceeds to particularize (1st) Mexico, which, he says, "*can be saved only by the advancing flood of our enterprising citizens;*" (2d) Central America, where he says that, at present, "*European intrigues check our extension,*" but where he hopes much from "*that patriotic band which has lately transplanted the principles of Democracy from the United States to Nicaraguan soil:*" (3d) Cuba; and (4th) San Domingo, which "*strange and grotesque power,*" he says, "*under whose stupid sway that fair island, holding, with her commodious ports, the same relation to the Caribbean Sea that Cuba holds to the Gulf of Mexico, is fast relapsing into barbarism, is sustained by mighty European influences in its attempts to exterminate the small white Dominican Republic which still retains a portion of the island.*"

Completing his survey, Gen. Quitman significantly declares—

"All the rest of insular America is European or African. Standing here, among the statesmen of America, I point to the surrounding scene. Behold it as it is, and then look forward a few years, and contemplate what it will be. What reflections does it not present! A world-startling drama is to be enacted; and are we, the guardians of our country's weal, to have no part in the performance? Do we not know that the development, the greatness, and THE SAFETY, even, of our beloved land, are deeply concerned?"

"*Insular America!*" That has a strange and unfamiliar sound. It has nothing in common with the history and ideas of this people. It was Continental America which resisted George III. It was in the name of the Continental Congress that Ethan Allen demanded the surrender of Ticonderoga. Of nothing is the tradition so fresh, as of the famous Continental money, with which our armies were kept on foot during that great struggle. "*Insular America!*" The phrase is new, and of alarming and dangerous portent. The idea of which it is the expression must be met, and resisted and denounced at the threshold. Of our Continental possessions, we have not even explored the one half. With the possible exception of an occasional resting-place for our commerce in the vast Pacific, we want no islands. "*Insular America*" may exist in geography, but should never be allowed to form a part of our politics.

The cause of Gen. Quitman's alarm is his belief, reiterated in a great variety of forms, that Great Britain is inflexibly intent upon devoting this "*Insular America,*" so near and so menacing to the Southern States, to the possession and domination of the hated race of Africans. Gen. Quitman says:

"She has been pertinaciously engaged in protecting Spanish tyranny, [in Cuba,] and in the unnatural and anti-Christian attempt to establish, throughout the whole of insular America, a barbarous black empire. The germ of her plot was exhibited in laying waste Jamaica, by destroying the proper relations between the white and black races there. * * * Her plot is further exposed by her intrigues in San Domingo. * * * Pursuing her schemes with intense cunning and indefatigable zeal, she has used her strong influence with Spain to bring about the abolition of Slavery in Cuba. Her intent is plain. * * * She desires to devote the American Archipelago, the great islands of the Caribbean sea, to the negro race. * * * Could this scheme be effected, the object of England would be attained; our progress in that quarter would be forever stopped. The protectorate of the black Empire, or States, thus brought into existence, would, of course, be vested in Great Britain. * * * She will have the power to disturb, at her pleasure, the [illegible] repose of the contiguous States, [illegible] and to simulate throughout our entire country the agitation of that Slavery question, which, even now, is so pregnant with mischief to the harmony of our institutions. * * * None but the perversely blind can fail to perceive her serpent-like policy. * * * The never-slumbering vigilance of our great commercial rival is at work, weaving intricate meshes, and planning dangerous combinations to entangle and destroy us."

Observing that Spain, under English influence, has invested the Captain General of Cuba with the power, as one extreme means of defence, of "*emancipating the slave population,*" Gen. Quitman exclaims: "*There before us,* PREGNANT WITH RUIN, *hangs the dark and terrible cloud!*"

Observing that he had "*not time to present the many and conclusive proofs that the policy of England is such as is attributed to her,*" Gen. Quitman quotes the following, from instructions given by Lord Palmerston to the British Minister at Madrid, in 1851:

"I have to instruct your Lordship to say to the Spanish Minister that the slave form a large portion, and by no means an unimportant one, of the people of Cuba; and that steps taken to provide for *their emancipation* would therefore, as far as the black population is concerned, *be quite in accordance* with the recommendation made by Her Majesty's Government, that measures should be adopted for contenting the people of Cuba."

The policy of England may be denounced as selfish. It is, however, the duty of Governments to consult the interests of the governed; and when they do so without invading the rights of others, they deserve praise, and not censure. England need not be ashamed to avow the motives which control her. She can make a clean breast of it, without incurring the condemnation of an impartial world. In the competitions of production and commerce, whoever makes use of enslaved labor is the natural enemy of all the rest of mankind, and must not complain if he is treated as such. He avails himself of an unfair advantage

The robbery of the slave becomes the robbery of the freeman, with whose labor the slave is brought into rivalry. The working men of the free States of this Union do not, all of them, as yet, see that this is so, but they are fast learning it; and when the lesson is once learned, it will never be unlearned. The Government of England perceives it, and is acting upon it, and will continue to act upon it.

So long as the Union of these States subsists, Slavery, as a domestic institution of a portion of the Confederacy, is entitled to that protection from the national power, of which it stands so greatly in need. If the Union is dissolved, the Southern States must protect it as best they may. England is under no obligation to protect it, but is perfectly justified in preventing its extension, by any fair means, if she believes it to be antagonistic to her own policy. While we are governed by our own interests, let us not childishly complain because England also is governed by her own interests. Insisting upon our own rights, and pursuing our own policy, let us respect the equal prerogatives of other sovereign nations.

In his letter of 1844, to our Minister to France, Mr. Calhoun shows an extreme anxiety to establish a distinction between the interests of France and those of England, in reference to the annexation of Texas to the United States, and in reference to the whole question of Slavery connected therewith. He says:

"Previous information was calculated to make the impression that the Government of France was prepared to unite with Great Britain in a joint protest against the annexation of Texas. * * * The President is happy to infer from your despatch, that the information, *so far as it relates to France*, is in all probability without foundation. * * * You were right in making the *distinction* between the interests of France and England in reference to Texas. * * * I hold, not only that France can have no interest in the consummation of this grand scheme, [the abolition of Slavery,] which England hopes to accomplish through Texas, if she can defeat the annexation; but that her interest, and those of all the Continental Powers of Europe, are directly and deeply opposed to it. * * * * What possible motive can they have to favor her [England's] cherished policy? Is it not better for them that they should be supplied with tropical products, in exchange for their labor, from the United States, Brazil, Cuba, and this Continent generally, than to be dependent on one great monopolizing Power for their supplies?"

If the views of Mr. Calhoun produced any effect upon France twelve years ago, it is certain that they produce none now, but that that great Power fully sympathizes with and is actually co-operating with Great Britain, in resisting the spread of Negro Slavery. It is possible, indeed, that the events which have transpired since the date of Mr. Calhoun's letter, may have helped to consolidate this accord between French and English policy. It is since 1844 that Negro Slavery has been abolished in the French Colonies. It is only recently that Algeria has been looked to as having the capacity to furnish large supplies of cotton, sugar, and tobacco; and Algeria, it must be recollected, is a word of very elastic signification, and means, in truth, just so much of Northern Africa as France sees fit to occupy. These new events, giving to France an interest to uphold free labor against slave labor in tropical productions, certainly harmonize with, and have probably confirmed and strengthened, the personal policy of the present Ruler of France, in respect to a close connection with England. At all events, the fact is undoubted, that France and England are heartily united in the system of checking, obstructing, and defeating, wherever they can, the efforts of Slavery in the United States to extend its limits and power.

General Quitman says that the power of Spain in Cuba is maintained, "*not only by the moral influence, but by the active interference of England* AND FRANCE;" of the hated negro domination in St. Domingo, he says; that it is "*sustained by mighty* EUROPEAN *influences;*" and of the whole policy of England, in reference to "*the Slavery question,*" he declares that "FRANCE, SINCE THE ADVENT OF LOUIS NAPOLEON, HAS HEARTILY COINCIDED" in it. In confirmation of this view, General Quitman reproduces the following declaration, made in the British Parliament, not long since, by Lord Clarendon, Secretary of Foreign Affairs:

"I will further add that the union between the two Governments has not been confined to the Eastern question. The happy accord and good understanding between France and England have been extended beyond the Eastern policy, to the policy affecting all parts of the world; and I am heartily rejoiced to say that there is NO PORTION of the TWO HEMISPHERES, with regard to which the policy of the two countries however heretofore antagonistic, is not now in ENTIRE HARMONY."

In confirmation of the same view, General Quitman publishes a letter, dated April 25, 1856, from General Cazneau, in which General Cazneau says:

"I was commissioned by President Pierce, in June, 1854, to negotiate a treaty with the Dominican Republic; and, after encountering many difficulties, through the intrigues and false representations of the FRENCH and English agents—*who notoriously make common cause with the negroes of Hayti against the whites*—the terms were fully agreed upon * * * * Meantime, an ALLIED squadron had been sent for by these agents. * * * * Under the specious title of 'the Mediating Powers,' FRANCE and England always hold the negroes in readiness, to be let slip like bloodhounds on the whites, at the east end of Hayti, if they prove at any time refractory to European policy. * * * I cannot severely blame the Dominican Government, with the evidence I had before me that it was under stringent European duress."

With the two great maritime Powers of Europe thus combined in immovable hostility to Negro Slavery, it matters little what may be the views of the "*Continental Powers,*" to whom Mr. Calhoun directed a portion of his appeals. They are absolutely powerless in such a controversy. But in truth, with the possible exception of some sympathy which may be imagined to exist between the nobles of Russia and the planters of the South, both subsisting upon the coerced labor of others, European opinion is most decided against the institution of Slavery. It is true that the "*Continental Powers*" have no such interests as England and France have, in the competition of free labor with slave labor in tropical productions. It may even be true that they receive some advantage, rather than injury, by the cheapening of certain articles of general consumption by slave labor. These considerations apply with all their force to the Germans, and yet it is quite notorious that they abhor Slavery. An industrious, intelligent, reflecting, and emigrating people, they perceive that the black slave either supplants or degrades the white laborer. To us

part of the civilized world, in fine, can the slaveholder turn for sympathy or support. The interests, the moral sense, the religious education, the prejudices of mankind, are all against him. Even if we may justly complain that a part of this hostility springs from envy and malicious fanaticism, or that the cunning aristocracies of England and Europe join in the clamor against a distant evil, with no better intent than to divert attention from their own oppressions, the fact remains the same, that upon him and upon his peculiar institution are concentrated the opprobrium and detestation of the world.

The Southern States are acting under the pressure of two motives; first, to ward off the perils which immediately menace their existence; and, second, to gratify their lust of power, and assure to themselves security during an indefinite period, by enlarging the range and limits of their peculiar institution. The first is a motive of present necessity; the second is a motive of forecast and ambition.

The world will be at no loss to understand what is meant by "*saving Mexico by the advancing flood of our enterprising citizens.*" It means simply the appropriation of Mexico, in successive portions along the Gulf, after the manner of Texas, to the uses of slaveholding. The world will be at no loss to understand the true cause of Southern sympathy with what is called the "*redeeming*" of Central America. Nobody is simple enough to believe that the gentlemen of South Carolina and Georgia and Mississippi, who have no interest in either commerce or navigation, are at all in earnest when they take up the question of transit between the Atlantic and Pacific, as a commercial question. They have neither ships, steamers, nor trade. The South has no relations with California, not even, at the present time, of emigration. That country was long since overstocked with politicians, and the laboring men of the South are too poor to undertake so distant and expensive a journey. Southern concern with Central America, as a question of transit, is a pretence too bald and flimsy to impose upon anybody. Doubtless, we have national interests connected with Central America; but for national interests the South has no eyes. Their politics are all narrow, sectional, and provincial, beginning with the negro, and ending with the negro. They may put forward commercial reasons, if they will, for seizing Nicaragua. The world knows better. The South wants Nicaragua now, as a *point d'appui* of an attack upon Cuba, and by and by, when the African slave trade can be re-established, as a new theatre upon which to compel men who are black, to labor without wages for men who are white.

Undoubtedly, it is of the first moment to the South, as a matter of self-preservation, to avert the Africanization of Cuba. Undoubtedly, it will be important to the South, in the progress of time, to secure an outlet along the Gulf of Mexico for the accumulating numbers of their blacks. Undoubtedly, it would place the institution of Slavery in a position not only secure, but commanding, if, possessed of the whole borders of the Gulf, and of the magnificent islands which divide the Gulf from the Ocean, it was enabled to control the products of the tropics, and dictate to the hopes and fears of the commerce of the world. But by whose arms, by whose treasure, by whose potential weight in the diplomacy of nations, is danger to be averted from, and security and even aggrandizement assured to, an institution condemned by the general judgment of mankind, and for the overthrow of which the whole world has conspired? If it be really necessary to pay one hundred millions of dollars for Cuba, and if such a purchase was possible, even at such a price, is it not plain that a Confederacy of Southern States, with which we are vainly threatened, could not command one-tenth of that sum for any purpose, and not one single dollar for such a purpose from any money-lenders on the face of the globe? Beyond a question, to even such a call, monstrous as it is, the credit of the nation, bottomed upon the wealth and numbers of the free States, would be found equal. The gentlemen planters of the Carolinas and of the Gulf States may possibly, in some moments of chivalrous exaltation, imagine themselves to be competent to acquire the Queen of the Antilles by force of arms, after dissolving the Union; but by no extreme of frenzy can they hope to acquire Cuba at the magnificent and even swaggering prices they have offered for it, except by laying hands upon the proceeds of the free labor of the thrifty North. Great Britain and France did not oppose an armed intervention against the slaveholding appropriation of Texas. Possibly they may remain passive, while the incipient steps to a similar appropriation are being taken in Central America. If so, they are restrained, not by any fear of the South, completely vulnerable and thoroughly helpless as it is, but by the power which the Union derives from the populous and vigorous North. If they forbear or postpone the Africanization of Cuba, it is to avoid giving offence to the great Confederacy under whose shadow the South reposes. If impunity is hoped for the buccaneers to be let loose by the Southern proposition to abrogate the neutrality laws, upon what else is such a hope based, but upon the respect inspired by our national power? Deprived of the protection of that power, would not the South be only too happy to abandon every project of aggression, if it could thereby secure to itself immunity from invasion? Would not its high and defiant tones, backed now by the fleets and the bayonets of the North, subside at once to a key the most dulcet and the most amicable, if left to its own resources, or, more correctly, want of resources? If new conferences were held at Ostend by the diplomatists of a Southern Confederacy, would they make themselves ridiculous by offering millions for Cuba without ability to raise a dime, and menacing invasions without sailors enough to man a shallop? Certainly, these gentlemen will still condescend to remain in a Union, to the resources of which they contribute so little, but the whole power of which they make available to objects peculiar to themselves. Certainly, these gentlemen will still condescend to spend the money and use the moral and physical power of the six-

teen millions of people in the free States, for the security and aggrandizement of their own special interests. Indebted to the sheltering wing of the Union for their safety, these gentlemen should, however, cease to affect to complain of it as a burden. Vain affectation! The sun which goes down upon the Union, goes down upon Slavery as an aggressive and expanding power. From that moment, it can only struggle for life and being and safety, and with the certainty before it of ultimate destruction. Its doom will be sealed, and no longer ambitiously dictating the policy of a great nation, and no longer wielding treasures not of its own contribution, and fleets not of its own raising, it will sink into an abject suppliant for the commiseration and forbearance of mankind.

It would be to suppose the gentlemen of the South absolutely demented, to believe that there is one particle of sincerity in their empty threats of dissolving the Union, or to believe even that they could be driven out of the Union by any imaginable act on the part of the Government. The Union, which is a great and unmixed blessing to all its members, *esto perpetua!* is an absolute necessity to the South. Condemned to "*imbecility*" (I quote Mr. Madison's language) by their peculiar institution, they do not conceal it from themselves, and will not conceal it from others, by any amount of theatrical arrogance. Without fleets, wealth, available population, or possible alliances, they must give up the preposterous imposture of threatening to dissolve a political connection, without which they could not exist in safety one single hour. The credulity of mankind is great, but not inexhaustible.

No! The South, or rather the Slavery propaganda which controls the South for the time being, meditate no such act of insanity as a dissolution of the Union. Their purpose is, not to leave the Union, but to rule it. They are not madmen, as they would have us believe, but cool, wary, and unscrupulous calculators. Men identified with such an interest as theirs, as really weak as it is affectedly arrogant, men with two thousand millions of dollars in slave property, cannot afford to act upon the suggestions of passion. Whoever believes they will, knows nothing of the springs of human action. Whoever believes they will, shuts his eyes to the most patent and conspicuous facts. If these Southern gentlemen are mad, they have a method in their madness. They have a policy, and they have just avowed to the whole world what that policy is, in the platform which they have erected at Cincinnati, and upon which they ask the country to elevate Mr. Buchanan to the Presidency.

Whoever wishes to understand Southern policy, should read that platform, in which it is plainly written down. It contains, not threats of dissolving the Union, but the commitment of what was once a great and national party to the appropriation of the entire resources of the Union to the single and local interest of Slavery. It is the speech of General Quitman, from which I have quoted, embodied in resolutions. It is filibustering digested into a code; and not filibustering for the spread of Liberty, but for the spread of Slavery. Affecting to pronounce for "*free seas*," it recognises only one sea, and that is the American Mediterranean, around which cluster the hopes and interests of Slavery. Of the Indies, it can only see the modern, and not the ancient, the West Indies, and not the East Indies. It has no eyes for the Pacific Ocean, none for the Sandwich Islands, none for the vast commerce yet to be developed with China, with Japan, with Australia, and with all the regions of the South Sea. Demanding protection to "*outlets*," it has eyes only for the Florida Pass and the Caribbean Sea; none for the St. Lawrence, with its magnificent valley of a million square miles. Not only not recommending a railroad across the Continent, but doubting, and halting, and speaking in uncertain tones and with contradictory votes in reference to any species of overland communication, it sees no mode of reaching California, except by "*isthmus routes*," the protection of which will afford pretexts for buying or seizing Cuba, and for enslaving St. Domingo. It points to expansion in only one direction, and that direction is the Gulf of Mexico. Under pretence of controlling the transit between the Atlantic and Pacific in the interest of commerce, at the cost of a war which would annihilate all commerce, it makes the occupation of Nicaragua by the *avant courriers* of Slavery a canon of Democratic faith. Interpreting language by the known views and purposes of those who speak, it commits the Democratic party to the acquisition af Cuba, and to the re-enslavement of the blacks of St. Domingo. "*Cuba*," says General Quitman, "*commands the entire trade of the Gulf. It is the commercial and naval strategetic key of the richest products of the world.*"

This is the systematic language of the South, and when they demand "*permanent protection for the outlets*" of the Gulf, they demand Cuba. St. Domingo, says Gen. Cazneau, is one of that "*grand circle of islands which enclose the Caribbean Sea, and command our isthmus routes to the Pacific.*" Gen. Cazneau the Texan, like Gen. Quitman the Mississippian, feels a deep interest in commerce. It is an interest most disinterested, and every way remarkable. It is for the sake of commerce, that these gentleman and their associates, speaking in the plattrom erected at Cincinnati, demand that our "*ascendency in the Gulf of Mexico*" be "*insured*" at all costs and all hazards. This "*ascendency*," in any intelligible sense, and for every legitimate purpose, already exists. If we can rely upon Gen. Jackson as military authority, the "*naval stratcyetic key*" of the Florida Pass is not Havana, but the Dry Tortugas. It is not because the Moro Castle threatens our shipping, but because the possible Africanization of Cuba threatens the plantations of Florida and Georgia and the Carolinas, that these gentlemen insist upon "*ascendency in the Gulf of Mexico.*" What is meant is not "*ascendency*" in any sense which is military or commercial, but the linking of the whole of "*insular America*," in the language of Gen. Quitman, to a "*common destiny*," "*common interests*," and "*similar institutions*"—or, in brief, to Negro Slavery.

As the whole energies of the present Administration, in obedience to the commands of the slaveholders, have been directed to pushing Slavery, at even the hazard of civil war, north from the parallel of 36° 30′ to the parallel of 41°, so the same slaveholders, speaking through the Democratic party, of which they are the masters, now declare that they "*expect from the next Administration*" that steps be taken for the protection and extension of Slavery on the continent and islands enclosing the Gulf of Mexico, which will certainly involve us in wars with all the maritime Powers of Europe. This is what these gentlemen "*expect from the next Administration*," and it is what they will obtain from it, if they can constitute it in accordance with their wishes. The North is sometimes deceived in its men; the South, never! The Cincinnati platform is only the expression, in a concentrated form, of the Soulé conferences; and from the first, the real leaders of the South intended to nominate upon that platform the pliant Pennsylvanian who travelled from London to Ostend, in order to give the weight of our first diplomatic position abroad to propositions, to purchase Cuba at any cost of money, or to obtain it at any sacrifice of peace and national character. The coy and amorous delay which marks the public adoption of Mr. Buchanan by these wily leaders, will not conceal the secret arrangements made with him long since, but now for the first time announced to the world.

If these slaveholding States would really execute their daily threats, and dissolve the Union, which they can only do by leaving it, our regret, great and sincere as it ought to be, would not be by any means unalloyed. We should be threatened with no more wars for the extension of Slavery, under the delusive guise of "*insuring an ascendency in the Gulf of Mexico;*" we should have no hundred millions to pay for Cuba; we could hope, in short, to be permitted to enjoy in peace the fruits of our own industry. Leave us, however, they will not; rule us they will, if they can; but they ought not, at one and the same time, to rule us, and threaten to leave us too. Even the Old Man in the story, who fastened himself upon the back of Sinbad, was more merciful than this. He used Sinbad very hardly, but did not insult him by threatening to quit him.

It is quite time that the true relation between the North and South was considered and discussed with truth and frankness. That relation is really that of the protector and protected. The inherent weakness of the South is sheltered by the power and vigor of the North. The Union is of inestimable advantage to both parties, but absolutely vital to the existence of the South. It is stable, because bottomed upon the essential and lasting interests of all the members of it. Of those who are now threatening to destroy it, the greater part are political Falstaffs, while the other part are passionate and excited men, who will be safely taken care of by the good sense of the communities in which they live. In a country where opinion is free, all sorts of opinions will be expressed, and among them, some which are wicked, and some which are silly. Let us not be alarmed by every idle wind which blows, but abide calmly in the belief that passion is only effervescent, and that the intelligent people of this country will continue to be controlled by their interests, in political transactions upon which depend the security and value of property, protection from foreign and domestic violence, and the solid assurance of all personal rights.

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